

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 10

THE VILLAGE VOICE  
10 AUGUST 1982

Alexander  
Cockburn  
& James  
Ridgway

# Red-Baiting the Freeze

To date, the freeze movement has been as American as apple pie and twice as wholesome, with every politician, priest, and mother from New York to Seattle able to ride together with liberals and activists of every stripe on the bandwagon toward a more peaceful world. But these days may be drawing to a close.

Frantic efforts to keep the freeze broad-based and clean may prove to be unavailing. There are signs that the Israeli issue may perturb the tranquil waters, and we have now obtained a secret memorandum to pollster Louis Harris which engages in vicious red-baiting in an attempt to deprive the freeze movement of meaningful political content.

Harris had been asked to speak at a gathering of some 40 major freeze funders at the Church Center opposite the UN on July 7, convened by the Rockefeller Family Fund, among other sponsors.

Because the freeze has been the hottest social investment for liberal funders since the high-rolling days of alternative energy in the early 1970s, some of the biggest purse-minders in the liberal philanthropic elite were present. They sat all day and listened carefully to expositions on the freeze and the real status of the arms race by experts such as Marshall Shulman, Soviet expert in Cyrus Vance's State Department; Marcus Raskin of the Institute for Policy Studies; Carl Marcy, Fulbright staff veteran from the Vietnam days; and Arthur Macy Cox, the former CIA analyst. Capping the day's events was a supportive speech by Harris.

So impressed were the funders with Harris's presentation that some of them asked the pollster to repeat his speech before disarmament groups in Washington, D.C. Harris agreed, and on July 27 he gave a talk in the capital.

## Washington Warning

"Something dramatic and highly important has happened to public opinion in America just over the past year," he said. "An urgent, dedicated hunger for peace in a nuclear era has literally overtaken our

people. The deep desire for peace has always been there. The urgency is occasioned by the dread realization that humanity could well be wiped out by a nuclear war, not just at some vague point in the future, but any time. And anytime could be now."

Harris said 56 per cent of the voters now say they would vote against a candidate for Congress this fall even if they agreed with that individual on nearly every other issue, if the candidate wanted to escalate the nuclear arms race: "Specifically, by 73-23 per cent, a big majority favors every country that has nuclear weapons banning the production, storage, and use of those nuclear weapons. By 86-11 per cent, an even larger majority wants the U.S. and Russia to negotiate an effective nuclear arms agreement, which would result in a substantial cutback in the nuclear weapons each country now has."

However, Harris warned his audience, "Any, even remote, suggestion that the U.S. disarm unilaterally will destroy the movement."

Following that speech, Harris's enthusiastic listeners pleaded for copies of his remarks and back-up material. Reaching into his briefcase, Harris pulled out a sheaf of papers, which were quickly copied and distributed.

## Papers in the Briefcase

In the package of material was the following memo:

"TO: LH

"FROM: DB

"RE: Rockefeller Family Fund meeting on July 7.

"DATE: July 6, 1982

"As you requested, I have done some research on the individuals and organizations who will be represented at the Rockefeller Family Fund meeting on nuclear arms control and peace issues. I am still checking up on a number of groups and individuals, but I was able to identify several far left organizations and individuals on the attendance list. All the groups and

people  
advoca  
ment,  
Americ

"Frankly, after going through the list, it seems to me that the Rockefeller nuclear arms control project runs the clear risk of being thoroughly infiltrated by far left and Communist front organizations before it even gets off the ground. As you will see, I've uncovered a network of foundations, institutes, committees, and individuals which are all inter-connected and which all more often than not espouse the Soviet line (to the extent this can be identified). I don't mean to sound like Joe McCarthy, but I thought you should be aware of the nature of many of the groups that will be represented at tomorrow's meeting.

### "The Institute for Policy Studies

"This is the leading far left think tank in the United States. Founded in Washington in 1963, it now has an annual budget of well over \$1 million. IPS is the center of a large network of projects, institutes and organizations, all of which have consistently advocated unilateral American disarmament, withdrawal of support for U.S. allies, and attacks on American businesses. . . .

"IPS projects and subsidiaries include the National Priorities Project (anti-defense), the Government Accountability Project (anti-CIA and FBI), the Bay Area Institute (sponsor of the left-wing Pacific News Service and the radical *Mother Jones* magazine), and the Transnational Institute (which sponsors visits to the U.S. by foreigners such as Communist editor Tariq Ali and ZAPU terrorist Basker Vashee).

"IPS officials also belong to a wide variety of far left groups and causes, including the National Lawyers Guild, the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the Campaign to Stop Government Spying, the Committee for Public Justice, the Indochina Resource Center, the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate (publishers of *Counter Spy* magazine), and many others. . . .